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It being impracticable to express in these columns the divergent views of the thousands of members of the American Peace Society, full responsibility for the utterances of this magazine is assumed by the Editor.

NINETY-TWO YEARS OF AGE

MR. CHAUNCEY DEPEW is now eighty-six years of age. We recently heard him remark that for the first eighty years of a man's life he is afraid that others will think him older than he really is; but that for the second eighty years he is afraid that people will not believe him to be as old as he really is. It is true that there comes a time in the life of a man or of an organization when age is looked upon as a matter of pride. The American Peace Society is proud of its age. Born out of the reaction against the international struggles of the period just before and immediately following the opening of the nineteenth century, it has lived through many wars. It has preached continuously its great cardinal principles. It has kept the faith with America. It has retained the support of good men, philanthropists, publicists, statesmen. It has created an honorable history.

This number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* is an anniversary number. The reports of the President, Secretary, and Treasurer, reports covering the work of the Society during the fiscal year ending May 1, together with the minutes of the Annual Meeting of the Board of Directors, the list of officers, and other data appear elsewhere in these columns. The addresses given at the Society's banquet at Rauscher's, Washington, D. C., May 29, addresses relating to a constructive foreign policy, are given in full. Reading these utterances, it

must be evident that the peace movement is not dead. Whatever one's views relating to the proposed League of Nations, to the current political issues, there is in this number of the *ADVOCATE OF PEACE* abundant evidence that the will to overcome war survives. Men retain their disposition to hold governments to their promises that we were fighting a "war to end war," to keep alive the principle that we were struggling to "make the world safe for democracy and democracy safe for the world." It cannot be forgotten that ten million boys died, having been told that the struggle was a contest to "overcome militarism" and the "will to power." Those principles are not dead. They live.

THE NEXT PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

AT THIS writing, no nomination having been made, we can speak with some detachment of certain qualities which the next President of the United States should have. We instinctively think of three.

The next President of the United States should be historically minded. The success of Great Britain in acquiring vast stretches of world empire has not been due to greed so much as to intelligence, a familiarity with past failures and achievements in large affairs. Her men of the foreign office and in far-flung fields have been educated in the theory and practice of the various kinds of law; in the history of negotiations, treaties, wars; in political facts and systems of economics; in the geography and statistics of States; in the things possible and things impossible along the ways of national aspiration. In similar matters the next President of the United States should be informed. Ignorance of history gave to us the indefensible Paris Covenant of the League of Nations. Men familiar with the writings of Dante and Erasmus; with the utterances out of seventeenth century Europe, contributions of *Crucé*, *Grotius*, *Sully*, *Penn*; with the eighteenth century writings of *St. Pierre*, *Rousseau*, *Bentham*, and *Kant*; with the nineteenth century struggle of the American Peace Society, and with the Peace Movement which it engendered, men familiar with these things could never have tried to overcome war by an alliance of the few powerful nations, an alliance to enforce its decrees between States by means of an organized body of men with qualifications backed only by shot and shell. Men familiar with the Constitutional Convention of

1787 would have instinctively eschewed all reference to the coercion of States by the force of arms, and concentrated their attention upon a method of international control under self-imposed laws interpreted by self-created tribunals. The next President of the United States should know what has been done.

The next President of the United States should be judicially minded. This is necessary if, under his leadership, we are to avoid the dangers that follow inevitably upon undiluted idealism, upon inconsistency and caprice. Knowing the facts, he should be able to base his judgment upon them; knowing the law, to give expression to it. It ought to appear necessary to him that he avoid convulsive movements and promise to the other nations nothing which America cannot consistently fulfill. He must avoid alliances for the enforcement of peace by arms as he would avoid a pestilence, for such have been the ways of all wars and their unmentionable miseries. Familiar with the age-long, if faltering climb of men toward the peaceable settlement of international disputes, that movement culminating in The Hague conferences of 1899 and 1907, he will recognize that movement, with all its inadequacies, as the supreme movement of the will of nations to establish peace between themselves and to attain unto it through that justice which is attainable only under law. With the judicial mind and temper to appreciate that, he will, therefore, aim to complete the machinery already under way for dealing with arbitral disputes and to realize those plans universally agreed upon in 1907 to perfect plans for periodic conferences of all the nations and for the establishment of an international court of justice. Thus, his judicial mind will lead him to do his share to correct the mistake of the Paris negotiators. He will know that the peace of the world cannot be promoted by American abnegation of her essential sovereignty or greatness, by transferring her right of self-determination over to a group of foreign diplomats and politicians unrestrained by any law or any court. He will know this to be true of America—free, sovereign, and independent. He will know it to be true, also, for all of the nations—free, sovereign, and independent as well. His visions for the society of nations will show him the necessity first for a virile nationalism. He will commit the United States to no guarantee of impalpable boundaries or impalpable anything else. Being judicially minded, he will not deign to distinguish between moral and legal obligations, national or international. He will work with the legislative branch of our government for the accomplishment of achievable results. Because of his judicial mind, he will go about these things in these ways, for of such is the kingdom of peace.

The next President of the United States should have an international mind. Since our foreign policy is now

of greater importance than ever before, and is destined through the coming decade to increase in significance, it is vitally demanded by the interests of America and of the world that there shall be at the executive head of this nation a man unwilling to leave the fortunes of this or of our sister nations to chance and mere hazard. Such a man must, therefore, know nations other than this—their various resources, their governments, their treaty obligations, their aspirations and temperaments. He must have an intelligent grasp of international causes and effects. He must have eyes that have seen the world's past, a mind that can behold the world's present, and a soul that reaches over the world that spreads before. Memory, intelligence, honor, and foresight must be his, and these enlarged to include an East that is West and a West that is East in the deep things of the human spirit.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY AND THE PEACE OF THE WORLD

THE Republican plank on the League of Nations is wordy, paraphrastic, and repetitious; but in its affirmative statements it is, from our point of view, eminently sound and altogether satisfactory. It affirms:

1. That there should be a Society of Nations—"International Association"—growing out of an "agreement among the nations to preserve the peace of the world."

2. That such a Society of Nations should "provide methods" for the maintenance of "the rule of public right."

3. That this should be accomplished "by development of law and the decisions of impartial courts."

4. That means should be provided for a "general international conference whenever peace shall be threatened by political action"; that is to say, that there should be a council of conciliation to consider, to discuss and to report upon such actions of non-justiciable character as may be submitted by an agreement of the powers.

5. That the right of self-determination shall be retained by the American people in all questions involving the possibilities of war.

6. That the covenant of the League of Nations, based upon "expediency and negotiation" and ignoring the American sentiment for the principles of "international law and arbitration," is a signal failure.

7. That President Wilson's dictatorial behavior toward the Senate in the premises has been indefensible.

8. That the United States Senate has simply performed its honorable duty.

The constructive aspects of this program are so consonant with the principles and methods set forth on the